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1968/10/24

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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1968 OCT 24 PM 3 08

DECLASSIFIED
Authority NLJ 84-391
By DLW NARA Date 8-12-91

VV CRB635
*****ZZ RUEHC
DE RUFNCR 22908 2981853
ZNY SSSSS
Z 241851Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 7421
STATE GRNC
BT
~~S E C R E T~~ SECTION ONE OF THREE PARIS 22908

NODIS/HARVAN/DOUBLE PLUS

DELTO 874

FROM HARRIMAN AND VANCE

REF: STATE 260480

1. WE MET THIS MORNING WITH XUAN THUY AND HA VAN LAU FOR ABOUT FOUR HOURS. THE SAME PERSONS WERE PRESENT AS AT OUR LAST MEETING.

2. WE OPENED THE MEETING WITH A STATEMENT FOLLOWING THE OUTLINE CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPHS 2, 3 AND 4 OF REFTEL. THUY AND LAU RESPONDED BY ASKING A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS FOR THE PURPOSE OF CLARIFICATION. THEY OBJECTED TO OUR USE OF THE WORDS "ON THE BASIS OF DISCUSSIONS THAT WE HAVE HELD" (PARA 3(A) REFTEL). THEY ALSO QUESTIONED OUR STATEMENT ON PARTICIPATION (PARA 3(E) REFTEL). THUY PROPOSED THAT WE AGREE TO SAY THAT "WITH THE CONSENT OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED A CONFERENCE INCLUDING THE DRV, SVNNLF, USA AND RSVN WILL BE HELD IN PARIS." WE REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL POINTING OUT THAT THE HAD INCLUDED BOTH THE WORD " PARTIES" AND THE WORD "CONFERENCE" AND HAD MENTIONED FOUR NAMES, THUS RETURNING TO HIS PROPOSAL AND THE LAST MEETING FOR A FOUR-PARTY CONFERENCE.

3. WE REITERATED WHAT WE EXPECTED OF THEM IN THE WAY OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE DMZ AND ON ATTACKS ON CITIES. THEY SAID THAT THEY HAD ALWAYS AND CONTINUED TO DEMAND UNCONDITIONAL CESSATION OF BOMBING. WE REITERATED THAT THESE WERE NOT CONDITIONS BUT CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE MAINTAINED IF THE BOMBING CESSATION WAS TO CONTINUE. THEY DID NOT DISPUTE THIS AND THERE IS NOT QUESTION THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD OUR POSITION AND WILL ACT ACCORDINGLY.

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SUBSEQUENTLY WHEN WE INSISTED ON INCLUSION OF " ON THE BASIS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS", IT WAS CLEAR THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD WHAT WAS EXPECTED OF THEM IF BOMBING CESSATION WAS TO CONTINUE.

4. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION, THUY THEN PROPOSED THREE PARAGRAPHS TO BE CONTAINED IN EITHER A COMMUNIQUE OR AN AGREED DOCUMENT, READING AS FOLLOWS:

"ON OCTOBER , 1968, THE REPRESENTATIVES

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CONTROL: 8169Q
RECVD: OCT. 24, 1968
4:04 P.M.

ACTION COPY

VV CRA238
..... ZZ RUEHC
DE RUFNCR 22908/2 2981905
ZNY SSSSS ZZH
Z 241851Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 7422
STATE GRNC
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~~S E C R E T~~ SECTION 2 OF 3 PARIS 22908/2

NODIS/HARVAN/DOUBLE PLUS

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USA INFORMED THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DRV THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD ORDER THE CESSATION WITHOUT ANY CONDITIONS OF ALL AIR, NAVAL AND ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENT AND ALL OTHER ACTS INVOLVING THE USE OF FORCE ON THE WHOLE TERRITORY OF THE DRV, WITH EFFECT FROM ----- HOURS, GMT, OCTOBER -----, 1968.

" THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DRV TOOK NOTE OF THIS COMMUNICATION.

" AFTER THE REALIZATION OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED CESSATION, WITHOUT CONDITION, OF THE BOMBING, A CONFERENCE INCLUDING THE DRV, THE SV NLF, THE USA AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM WILL BE HELD IN PARIS ON ----- WITH A VIEW OF FINDING A PECAEFUL SOLUTION TO THE VIETNAM PROBLEM."

5. THUY THEN SAID THERE WERE FOUR ISSUES AS HE SAW IT. THEY WERE: (A) THE QUSTION OF CESSATION OF BOMBING; (B) PARTICIPATION; (C) THE DATE OF THE FIRST MEETING; AND (D) A DOCUMENT BETWEEN THE DRV AND THE UNITED STATES.

6. WE REJECTED ALL OF THUYS PROPOSALS, ARGUING AT LENGTH AGAINST THE NEED FOR ANY COMMUNIQUE OR WRITTEN DOCUMENT AND VIRTUALLY EVERY SENTENCE CONTAINED IN HIS PROPOSALS. THIS DISCUSSION LASTED ABOUT 1-1/2 HOURS.

7. THUY THEN RETURNED TO ITEM 4 OF HIS FOUR ISSUES, I.E., AN AGREED DOCUMENT, EITHER IN THE FORM OF A COMMUNIQUE OR AN AGREED MINUTE. HE SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW HIS SUGGESTION THAT THER-BE A JOINT COMMUNIQUE BUT THAT THERE MUST BE A SECRET AGREED MINUTE. HE SIAD THIS WAS NORMAL IN INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS.

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8. AFTER A RECESS, WE INFORMED THUY THAT IF AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED ON THE DATE OF THE FIRST MEETING, THE DATE OF THE CESSATION OF BOMBING, PARTICIPATION IN THE MEETINGS, AND THE WORDS TO BE USED IN DESCRIBING ALL OF THESE MATTERS, THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO AGREE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF A SECRET MINUTE.

9. WE THEN, ON A PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH BASIS, TABLED THE TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 5(A), (B) AND (C) OF REFTEL. THUY AND LAU ASKED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS AND WE ARGUED AT GREAT LENGTH ABOUT OUR PROPOSED TEXT.

10. THUY THEN TABLED A COUNTER-PROPOSAL BASED UPON OUR TEXST. HEIS COUNTER-PROPOSAL WAS (A) " ON BASIS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS, THE UNITED STATES WILL STOP WITHOUT CONDITIONS ALL AIR, NAVAL AND ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENT AND ALL OTHER ACTIONS INVOLVING THE USE OF FORCE ON THE ENTIRE TERRITORY OF THE DRV ON -----DATE AT -----HOURS GMT.
(B) " IN ORDER TO FIND A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE VIETNAM PROBLE., A MEETING INCLUDING THE DRVN, THE NLF, THE USA AND THE RVN WILL BE HELD IN PARIS ON -----."

11. WE ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION WHETEHR HIS LANGUAGE IN (B) MEANT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DRV, ETC. HE SAID THAT THE PARAGRAPH COULD BE CHANGE DTO READ, "INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DRVN, ETC." IT COULD BE EITHER WAY. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE ORDER IN WHICH THE NAMES APPEARED COLD BE CHANGED IF
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CONTROL: 8166Q
RECVD: OCT. 24, 1968
3:55 P.M.

ACTION COPY

..... ZZ RUEHC
DE RUFNCR 22908/3 2981905
ZNY SSSSS ZZH
Z 241851Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC FLASH 7423
STATE GRNC
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~~S E C R E T~~ SECTION 3 OF 3 PARIS 22908

NODIS/HARVAN/DOUBLE PLUS

DELTO 874

CHANGED IF WE WISHED.

12. THUY SAID THAT FIRST WE MUST AGREE ON THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE CESSATION OF BOMBING AND THE BEGINNING OF MEETINGS. IF IT WERE ONLY TWO OR THREE DAYS, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE. ASSUMING NOVEMBER 2 AS THE DATE OF THE MEETING, THEN WE MUST STOP THE BOMBING TOMORROW. WE REJECTED THIS AND SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE. LAU SAID HE WISHED TO BE PRECISE. HE PROPOSED THAT ON OCTOBER 25 AN ORDER BE ISSUED STOPPING THE BOMBING, AT ANY HOUR OF THE DAY, AND THAT THERE WOULD BE A MEETING ON NOVEMBER 2. WE REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL.

13. WITH RESPECT TO OUR PARAGRAPH 5 (C) OF REFTEL, WE EXPLAINED IF THE BOMBING WERE STOPPED THAT WE DID NOT INTENT TO MAKE APUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CESSATION OF BOMBING UNTIL APPROXIMATELY THE TIME THE BOMBING ACTUALLY STOPS AND AT THAT TIME WE WOULD ANNOUNCE THE DATE OF THE FIRST MEETING IN PARIS. LAU ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION WHETHER ANY ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD BE MADE WHEN THE ORDER TO STOP THE BOMGING WAS ISSUED, IF THERE WERE TO BE A BOMBING CESSATION. WE REPLIED, "NO." LAU SAID HE UNDERSTOOD, BUT IT WAS THE DRV POSITION THAT A PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT BY US OF THE CESSATION OF BOMBING MUST BE MADE. THUY SAID THE TIMING OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS UP TO US AND THAT THEY SAW NO NEED TO HAVE AN AGREED MINUTE ON THIS SUBJECT.

14. WE REJECTED ALL THE COUNTER-PROPOSALS OF THE DRV AND SAID THAT WE WOULD REPORT WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE AT TODAY'S MEETING TO OUR GOVERNMENT.

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15. AS WE GOT UP TO LEAVE, THUY SAID THAT IF WE AGREED TO PARAGRAPHS (A) AND (B) OF THE DRAFT MINUTE AS HE HAD MODIFIED THEM, NOVEMBER 2 WOULD BE THE DATE FOR THE FIRST MEETING. AS TO A DATE FOR THE CESSATION OF BOMBING, HE WISHED TO DISCUSS FURTHER WITH US THE ACTUAL DATE, AND WAS SURE WE COULD REACH AGREEMENT. WE ASKED WHETHER THUY WAS SAYING THAT IF WE AGREED TO PARAGRAPHS (A) AND (B) AS HE HAD PROPOSED THEM, THE FIRST MEETING WOULD BE HELD ON NOVEMBER 2 AND THEREFORE THE DATE FOR BOMBING CESSATION WAS OCT. 30 OR OCT. 31. HE SAID THAT WAS NOT WHAT HE MEANT. HE WOULD AGREE TO THE NOV. 2 MEETING, BUT THE INTERVAL BETWEEN CESSATION AND THE MEETING WOULD REMAIN FOR DISCUSSION. THUY ALSO SAID THAT AN AGREED MINUTE WOULD BE SECRET AND INTERNAL BETWEEN OUR TWO DELEGATIONS.

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